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## Socialism and Co-operative Enterprises

*American Socialism of the Present Day.* By JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN. With an introduction by JOHN SPARGO. (New York: John Lane Company. 1911. Pp. x, 265; bibliography, pp. 257-265. \$1.25.)

A needed and timely piece of work has, in this book, been admirably done. It is far more than a mere narration of the history of the various socialistic groups and parties in the United States; it is more too than the dessicated outline of the tenets and crochets of different individuals and parties one might suppose it to be from the title. It is, in fact, a scholarly, sympathetic, critical exposition, based upon carefully chosen sources and well-digested data, of the present tendencies of belief and policy on the part of socialist leaders in this country with regard to the significant faults of the present social organization and to the ultimate and immediate programs of socialism.

Even the reader unacquainted with socialistic theory may find in the brief summaries of Marxian socialism basis enough to give him interest in the rest of the book. The informed reader will find not only a valuable incidental view into the inner politics of socialist propaganda in this country, but a keen and suggestive exposition of the position of the traditional tenets of "scientific" socialism in actual process of revision and evolution in the minds of contemporary American socialists. The American Socialist party, in itself, is hardly old enough, large enough, or important enough to merit so careful a study.

The author faces at once the question, Who is entitled to represent socialism in this country?—and settles upon "the political and intellectual leaders" from whom "we must for the most part determine aims and tactics." The expedient is followed of employing as authorities chiefly those men and women who have held during the past four or five years the offices in the highest gift of the party. Practically, in the course of the discussion, the reader is impressed with the frequency with which certain few names occur: Spargo, Simons, Hunter, Hillquit, Sanial, Unterman, Berger, Thompson, Simkhovitch. Writers like Mackaye (*Economy of Happiness*) are scarcely mentioned; Edmond Kelly not at all. The fact of the matter is that there is in the Socialist party itself an intelligent and progressive nucleus of younger men who apparently stand toward the old Marxism in much the

same relation as the modern "higher critics" of biblical literature stand to the Bible; for they are under the necessity of maintaining their "orthodoxy," of squaring the tenets of Marx and other patron saints with sense and fact today, and of keeping before the rank and file, for propaganda purposes, the old ideas and shibboleths, to some of which, at least, they now attach an entirely different philosophical meaning than formerly, and one which the general mass will not readily understand or accept. One result is that much is being read into Marx that is not there and much ignored which is there. The state of affairs is entirely analogous to judicial interpretation of the Constitution. If it won't work as it is, it must be interpreted by "rule of reason," or by broad construction, until it will work. Dr. Hughan is so evidently sympathetic with socialism, and is also so careful to quote copiously and to give always definite citations, that one cannot but accept her exposition as in the main correct; and one comes through with the renewed conviction that the socialist leaders are hedging at many important points. The labor theory of value is something they would evidently like to drop; so with surplus value, the iron law of wages, Rodbertus's theory of crises, increasing misery, and on the part of a large section, the class struggle. Indeed, in Dr. Hughan's exposition, certain parts of the Communist Manifesto and the economic interpretation of history seem to the reader about all that is left as a sure basis of socialism.

The chapters on the constructive program leave the impression that the younger leaders are beginning to place more emphasis on a definite outline of policy rather than to rely upon the faith of economic evolution. The Wisconsin group is a notable example of this position.

Unfortunately the book has no index.

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*Les Actions de Travail.* By JEAN GRANIER. Preface by CHARLES GIDE. Bibliothèque de l'Economie Politique et de Sociologie, IV. (Paris: L. Larose et L. Tenin. 1910. Pp. viii, 357.)

In the discussion of the labor problem in America, forms of wage-earners' copartnership in the business that employs them are no longer regarded as promising means of amalgamating the in-